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THE UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

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The Underground Movement in Germany[1]

I. Introduction

It is possible to make a chronological division of the history of the German Underground. The period of 1933-1939 is marked by the attempt of the strongest political parties, the Social Democrats and the Communists, to maintain an underground on a national or mass scale. But as these attempts at mass underground movements were beaten by the activity of the Terror, it became clear that national or mass organizations were impossible. From about 1935 to 1939, therefore, attempts were made to provide a more effective organization in the form of small elite groups or cadres in the locality with no contact with each other except through responsible leaders. Along side the party undergrounds there existed as well trade union undergrounds, suspicious of party activity and concerned primarily with the utilization of trade union methods in combatting the exploitation of the workers through the German Labour Front. Thus for this earlier period the underground has been essentially a labor underground, engaged in a desperate fight with the instruments of terror for mere survival, and aiming only to work within the framework of existing Nazi institutions. In this period the Nazis could gradually weaken, but not destroy

1/ This present report aims to supplement and bring up to date an earlier report of the Central European Section called The Underground Movement in Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary, which was summarized in the PW Weekly for April 16, 1943 with the title, The Underground in Germany and Austria. The additional material comes largely from PW interrogations. Those which proved most informing were of certain prisoners who belonged to the 961st North African Regiment, composed in considerable part of ex-political prisoners who had done their turns in German prisons and concentration camps. The report excludes material on former Austria. This will be incorporated into another report.

the underground in each of the political, economic, social and religious oppositional groups.

After an initial further decline the underground has experienced some revival and expansion since the outbreak of war (1939-43). The German conquest of areas into which the leaders of outlawed parties and organizations had escaped who had maintained contacts within Germany, not only deprived the German underground of support from the outside, but also supplied the Gestapo with additional information with which to crush the illegal opposition in Germany. Contacts with the outside world were almost completely cut off. At the same time/the German-Soviet pact may be supposed to have exercised a discouraging effect upon Socialist undergrounds in Germany. With the removal of this check in 1941, and the beginnings of a reversal in the fortunes of war, the general conditions were established for a gradual deterioration of morale leading to the strengthening and enlargement of the underground. The incorporation of police units into the Wehrmacht has weakened the police forces at home. The exploitation of the workers, male and female, industrial and agricultural, in the interests of total war, has necessitated some relaxation in controls, in order to win their acquiescence. The compound of fear, despair, exasperation and suffering wrought by the privations inflicted by a strained war economy, by continual bombings, and by military reverses, produce in some of those not totally exhausted a desire for some tangible means to end it all which fortifies underground resistance. Of all this the recent appointment of Himmler as Minister of the Interior is a token.

II. The Underground Movement Before the War

The efforts of the Social Democrats and Communists after 1933 to preserve their respective organizations as a whole failed before the onslaughts of the Gestapo. Even before that date the Social Democratic Party had lost much of its vitality and was living upon its organization and the past glory of its influence upon the Weimar Republic. Its leadership was somewhat discredited for its impotence and hesitance in combatting National Socialism. It had no experience in underground work and its hopes for the formation of a mass underground soon proved illusory. By 1935 it may be said to have been liquidated as an organization within Germany. No evidence exists pointing to any extensive liaison between the undergrounds of the Social Democratic and Communist parties for this earlier period. No party suffered greater losses than the latter at the hands of the Nazi terror. Its surviving local units were destroyed, reformed and liquidated over and over again. To what extent the Comintern contributed to its existence it is difficult to say, but at least the Russo-German pact of August 1939 threw it into utter confusion inasmuch as anti-Nazi Socialists who condemned the pact could hardly be tolerated.

To illustrate the atomization of the Social Democratic and Communist undergrounds the following groups, known to have existed before 1939, may be listed:

1. The Gruppe Boehm: This group was Social Democratic or Communist, probably the former. It had a large following in Neukölln (Berlin), and had set up certain groups in army camps to warn soldiers of

Nazi preparations for war. The youthful members of the organization (18-35) had literature and weapons. Boehm himself was arrested in the Spring of 1938; the organization at that time had several hundred followers recruited largely from Berlin factories with leaders ready to take over for Boehm during his arrest. Under brutal torture Boehm revealed the names of from 80 to 90 of his followers who were subsequently arrested. What has become of the remainder it is impossible to say, but the size of the original group permits the assumption that some members of it still survive.

2. There was an illegal Reichsbanner at Bremen directed by a former member of the Social democratic party who had been at the same time a member of the Reichsbanner, and who founded the Reichsbanner Marine in Bremen in 1932. 88 out of 450 members were arrested in March 1934, and it is possible that it still survives.

3. A popular front Communist organization which called itself Anti-Faschistische Aktion. As a member of this organization after 1933 a young Wuppertal mechanic distributed Communist leaflets, and was arrested in 1935 along with twenty others.

4. The Rote Jugend at Cologne existed at least into 1934. An Essen labourer joined an illegal Communist youth group in that city in 1934 and worked illegally until 1937. A young Kirchberg carpenter worked illegally with Communist leaflets and was arrested in 1939.

It is not possible to say that a network of organizations of illegal trade union groups covered the whole of German industry before 1938. Those groups were strongest which were supported by international organizations,

namely the miners, the metal workers and the transport workers, and of the latter the most important were the railway men. They had been first organized as an illegal organization of 280 men between 1911-1919 by Hans Jahn, an engine driver from Berlin. By 1933 this original group had expanded to about 600,000. From 1933 to 1940 Jahn remained in touch with these workers by frequent journeys into Germany from Luxembourg.

In addition to the Socialist and Communist groups there is evidence for the existence also of illegal organizations in other political, and in religious groups:

1. An illegal Deutsch-Nationale composed of former officers and enlisted men, and with active army cells was alive in the Spring of 1938, although some members had been arrested and executed.

2. There were illegal Catholic Youth organizations in Gelsenkirchen and Berlin. The Gelsenkirchen unit had one Jewish member. The Berlin group met several nights a week and engaged in the distribution of leaflets prepared in Czechoslovakia. It is not impossible that a large Catholic Youth Movement was financed by the Zentrum and German monastic orders.

It is known also that illegal newspapers were distributed at Stuttgart by a young lithographer and forty compositors who worked on the Stuttgart Neues Tageblatt, and were arrested in January, 1939.

One of the most effective of the underground movements in Germany before 1939 was Neu Beginnen. 1/ As a left wing Socialist group, dissatisfied

1/ For this and some other material in this section the report is indebted to the forth-coming report of Dr. Walter Dorn on the German Political Emigration.

and Rhenish Textile workers. With the outbreak of war its contacts across the frontier were cut, and only a few direct messages came from Berlin and Munich in 1940-41. What the present state of the Neu Beginnen units in Germany is, it is impossible to say.

There is thus evidence for the period before 1939 of an underground within military circles (Deutsch-Nationale) and religious circles both Catholic and Protestant (Catholic Youth Organizations and Religious Socialists). But the underground was primarily composed of political (Social Democratic and Communist) and trade union (miners, metal workers, transport workers, construction workers and textile workers) labor groups. The Communist organizations were both of a popular front (anti-Faschistische Aktion) and party type. It is noteworthy that the youth organizations predominate in the evidence (Rote Jugend, Communist Youth /Essen/, Socialist Youth Organizations, Socialist Student Organizations, and Neu Beginnen). The efforts of Neu Beginnen to introduce some wide-spread contact among the atomized and fragmentary undergrounds could not, under the circumstances, have produced extraordinary results. From the cities named in the evidence Berlin emerges as the center of underground organizations. The others are Bremen, Cologne, Essen, Stuttgart, Wuppertal, Kirchberg and Gelsenkirchen. The activity of the underground may be conceived chiefly as a fight with the Terror for survival, a fight which was in some measure successful. Beyond this the organizations served essentially as reporting agencies.

III. The Underground Since the War (1939-1943)

It is clear that the pattern for underground organizations remains fundamentally the same for this period. The predominant underground is the labor underground, Social Democratic, Communist and Trade Union, all of which may be said to have been strengthened in the past two years, as a result of general conditions referred to in the Introduction, and possibly, in more recent months as a result of the dissolution of the Comintern. It is to be assumed also that these undergrounds are to a large extent responsible for the open resistance of German labor to the measures of its Nazi overlords and for what sabotage that has taken place. The actual number of underground organizations has increased. For some there is little more than a name or a vague reference. Information, however, concerning others, makes it clear that it is not impossible that women, foreign workers and prisoners of war may become an important part of underground activity. Moreover, the underground has definitely spread to the army and the party, and war weariness has led to an illegal peace movement.

A. Vague and unidentifiable references to undergrounds:

1. The report (January, 1943) that the leader of a non-Communist underground with cells scattered throughout Germany came to Stuttgart to address an audience of 125, including members of the middle class and clergy, after having met similar groups in Bavaria.

2. The report (June 25, 1943) of the trial at Strasbourg on June 5 of Alsatians leading an anti-Nazi organization extending into France and Germany.

with the old leadership of the Social Democratic Party, and conceiving underground work not as a mass movement but rather as the organization of local cadres which could be trained in the art of anti-Nazi conspiracy, the leaders of Neu Beginnen sought to establish contact with the livelier Socialist undergrounds. The most important of these were remnants of former religious Socialists with approximately twenty centers in Germany, the Berlin Socialist Youth organization, and similar units throughout Germany, surviving groups of younger trade unionists, surviving elements of Socialist Student organizations, several local groups of the Social Democratic Party, and some of its older functionaries with large German affiliations. A conference in Berlin (June, 1935) marked the official organization of Neu Beginnen as an independent underground organization with an Auslandsbüro in Prague, and a Central Committee in Berlin which had contacts with several other groups of trade unionists, railroad men, construction workers, transport workers and metal workers. After the cessation of earlier cooperation between the Social Democratic Party and Neu Beginnen, the latter was supported in turn by Swiss Trade Unions, the Swiss Social Democratic Party, Leon Blum, the Sudeten German Social Democratic Party, Sir Stafford Cripps and the American Friends of German Freedom. By 1939 its Auslandsbüro in Paris had contacts through frontier secretaries with three groups in Bavaria, five in Silesia, three in Württemberg, two in the Palatinate, two in Saxony and with the Central Committee in Berlin which itself had connections with other units. It had liaison also with the foreign headquarters of the underground organization of German miners

3. What is called The Cultural Progress Organization, and described simply as an anti-Hitler movement, seems to date before 1933 and is still alive.

4. One PW's brother was executed in September, 1942, for attempting to organize a secret anti-Hitler movement. 15 men were condemned with him at the same trial.

5. A group of left-wing sportsmen has engaged in anti-Nazi activities and specialized in the distribution of leaflets. In March, 1942, some 250 of them were arrested, among them Sperling, German lightweight wrestling champion and Zeelenbinden, German heavyweight wrestler. 1/

B. Women and the underground. A single reference of this kind comes from a PW who reports the formation of a secret organization based upon the resistance of women to total mobilization and engaged in placing stickers on walls. They changed fatal for total in the public slogans: "Total mobilization calls on you, too, for sacrifice!" and Goebbel's V signs to F (Friede).

C. Underground demands for peace. What is called the German Peace Movement (Deutsche Friedens Bewegung) was founded in western Germany, and was reported by a PW to have held a Peace Conference in January, 1943. It may be the same as, or associated with the National Catholic German Peace Movement which is credited with the organization of the demonstrations of students in the University of Munich, and the publication of leaflets.

D. Conservative student underground. The Fighting League of Student Youth (Kampfbund Studentischer Jugend) is described by a PW as a

1/ See special report of the Central European Section: Report on Prisoners of War Interrogations--Opposition to the Nazis.

rather nationalist and conservative organization centering around the University of Berlin.

E. Conservative military-industrialist-Junker underground. An officer PW belonged to an anti-Nazi military organization which had been growing for several years. It is headed by a general of high rank who is calculated to act as an interim leader until such a figure as Von Neurath could organize a government. Outside of the military it has a following of diplomats, Junkers, big industrialists, and even a few of the Gestapo. It is anti-Communist and wants a united non-Nazi Germany. The fact that no discipline can be exercised over its members and that it has lost many of its officer members to the Eastern front has limited its growth. Regular recruiting of non-military members was undertaken and attempts were made to atomize the whole organization into cells of fifty members. Publishers were associated in the movement. It is expected that military members called to the front can carry on the work there. Within the Wehrmacht, attempts have been made, for the most part by Austrians, to organize oppositional groups, and a pamphlet urging the formation of Soldiers' Committees has been distributed among German forces in France.

F. The Party Underground: Storm Troop Friends (SA Freunde) This party underground has been in existence since 1940 and is composed largely of party members who have become dissatisfied with the leadership of the party and the general trend of events in Germany. It seeks to gather all disgruntled individuals within the SA to work against the regime. It contains economists, engineers and gold party medal holders.

The activities of the group are calculated to satisfy the personal inclinations of its members. One section engages in terrorist activities and sabotage and claims responsibility for the death of Gauleiter Forster, notorious for his Black Market operations, for an unsuccessful bomb attempt upon Goebbels at a public theater which killed the performers and not Goebbels, and for a successful explosion in the Friedrichstrasse Underground Station in Berlin which blew up three carriages and killed sixty people. A second section prints and distributes pamphlets produced at the Berliner Verlags Anstalt, a confiscated Jewish firm now managed by a member of SA Freunde with the help of a staff composed of many SA Freunde. The material is printed on good paper and distributed as stickers or inserted in pamphlets officially approved by the Chamber of Culture. A third section operates the clandestine station Sender der SA Freunde at a spot not far from the Tegel transmitter. It interpolates successfully into official German braodcasts such sour notes as "Swindle", "Liar", and "Make Hitler cold meat and the room will soon be warm". It broadcasts also full length programs. Scripts are first recorded in a Berlin cellar on wax discs and steel band recording machines by those who do not know how they are subsequently to be used but hear their own speeches over Sender SA Freunde. The equipment for interpolations and recordings was made in England in 1941. The SA Freunde has contacts with the Kampfbund Studentischer Jugend, the Kommunistische Jugend Internationale, the Anti-Faschistische Aktion, and the Deutsche Friedens Bewegung.

G. The labor undergrounds. If the German worker had not been won over by the Nazis before the outbreak of the war, if his feeling for class solidarity had not given way to the Volksgemeinschaft or the Betriebsgemeinschaft before this date, then it could hardly be shown that this has happened since. As the war drew off all but the older workers and the very young into the Wehrmacht, women, proletarianized members of the lower middle class, and foreign workers have come to take their place. The measures of total mobilization have embittered large numbers of the women and middle class and it is well recognized that the foreigners are a potential vanguard of an army of occupation. Women and foreign workers have been a source of strength rather than weakness to the solidarity of the workers in the factories. In spite, therefore, of the rigid set of industrial, party and police controls set up in the factories, the workers in some instances have known how to protect themselves against excessive exploitation within the framework of Nazified industry. 1/

It is of interest, for example, that the resistance of the Printers' Union to the DAF has been so strong that the Printing Trades Committee of the DAF has never been convened and that original regulations of this Union are virtually still in force. The workers have known how to complain against wage manipulation, involving excessive reductions and assessments, against food and other shortages, against working conditions, against the demands of the efficiency drive, against foreman, supervisors, and entrepreneurs who were stool pigeons of the party, and

1/ See the special report of the Central European Section on Labor Morale

have steadily avoided electing "reliable" factory advisory councils. They have known not only how to protest, but to strike and even to get out. There have been reports of large processions of working men staging demonstrations after air raids in Leipzig, Dortmund, Essen, Hamburg and Cologne, of complaints of Krupp workers about food in canteens, overwork and demands for a longer working day. Miners in Upper Silesian mines are reported to have struck until their fat rations were increased, and miners at Oberhausen to have refused to go down into the pits until threatened with guns. Workers of Blohm and Voss (Hamburg) have carried through a successful strike, and kept DAF speakers from warning them of their duty. Workers at Mannheim have struck against long hours, air raid warden duty, and insufficient food rations. Darmstadt workers have interrupted speeches praising heroes fallen at Stalingrad, and published tracts against meetings extolling these heroes, and even have broken them up. Workers of Krupp and Rhein-Metall at Duisburg have been arrested for disturbances. There are reports of over 100 workers escaping from the Dinnendahl-Groeppel Machine Factory at Bochum and of workers fleeing from Elektrola in Berlin. The destruction of labor records as a result of air raids has been utilized by some workers to get away to more favorable conditions. It is even reported that workers have moved into the mountains of Bavaria and the Tyrol where regular bush-hunting parties have been staged. Students of Berlin, Munich, Cologne, Gottingen and Jena have demonstrated against propaganda aiming to recruit them for industry. Workers have protested and demonstrated

successfully against forcing women to attend two machines instead of one. Reports of declines in denunciations by party members and foremen for absenteeism are available. An SS leader in Wetzlar is supposed to have been shot for shielding workers who had been sabotaging production. In one instance workers have asked that weapons be dropped to them by plane when the proper time comes. The return to the eight-hour day in some industries and the reopening of some small shops are a response to opposition of this kind.

While it is impossible to estimate the share of the undergrounds in this activity it would be idle to suppose that it has had no part. After all the motives which keep a labor underground active are not only politically anti-Nazi in character, but have to do with maintaining the class struggle within a state which in spite of all pretences to the contrary has exacerbated this struggle. The participation in successful activity of this kind by workers who are not political, or even are Nazi, is a potential source of underground strength which for the future may be actually more important than the strength of the underground at the moment.

The collective acts of resistance by foreign workers have arisen mostly in connection with attempts to improve their working conditions. They have been known to remark that their speed of work is directly proportional to the adequacy of their food. Individual acts of resistance by foreign workers occur relatively seldom and appear to be acts of desperation on the part of Poles and Russians especially.

A Russian worker has been reported shot for example after difficulties with a German foreman in the Friedrich der Grosse mines at Dortmund. Russian workers are supposed to be engaged in concerted go slow action. French workers have organized demoralization squads to work on the morale of their guards in their camps. It has been suggested also that with the proper encouragement and the promise of arms dropped at the proper moment, foreign workers and prisoners of war could organize illegally in their camps. Poles in the ports of northern Germany have been urged not to go home when the crisis comes but to stay and help their German comrades.

1. Sabotage and Other Subversive Activity. Foreign workers are known to have engaged in sabotage in the Kiel shipyards; Italian workers in the Merck Chemical Works at Darmstadt, and French and Russian workers on the German railroads are reported to have changed destination cards so frequently that new control systems have had to be set up. Russian workers have committed sabotage in the Leuna works in Merseburg. Acts of sabotage on the part of German workers are reported at several metal works near Frankfurt/M., at the Bavarian Motor Works at Munich, at the Mauser Werke at Rottweil on the Necker, at Düsseldorf, and on the canals. Hamburg appears to be an active center for sabotage. Workers from the Dralle glycerine factory have been shot for it, and it has been reported on the wharves of Blohm and Voss, in the harbor, and at the Hannover Station. At the beginning of April workers on their way to early shifts are said to have stopped to celebrate the raising of a red flag on the St. Michael's Kirche.

Subversive slogans and leaflets have become, especially in the last eighteen months, more abundant. The Social Democrats have revived their old ones associating the Nazis inevitably with war. "Rather the old-time unemployment and fifteen marks a week dole than war." They appear scribbled in pencil on walls of corridors and lavatories. Stickers are numerous and illegal leaflets are distributed even within factories (The Auto-Union Factory at Zwickau). In Munich 17 persons from southern Germany were sentenced who had been accused of having printed and distributed during 1942-43 leaflets exhorting the population to commit acts of sabotage against the armament industry. The leaders of the group were women residents of Munich, others came from Stuttgart, Freiburg and Ulm. In the first week of May, 1943, leaflets stamped "Hunger" and "Don't be a Hitler slave" were distributed at night in the streets of Leipzig by cyclists. Since the fall of Mussolini pamphlets appear to have become more frequent, the latest one calling for a halt. "Stop it! There's only one way to save ourselves. Stop the war! Stop working in factories! Stop it!" Social Democrats in Switzerland even believe that the time is ripe for inducing a general strike in Germany. There are slow-downs. The mines at St. Georgen near Freiburg were reported closed temporarily because of slow-downs resulting from Communist activity. Members of the Landwacht whose task it is to combat "traitors" have been reported killed and wounded. The Police President of Essen has announced that guns, pistols and other military equipment, some of foreign makes, have been found in attics

while repairs were being made on roofs after air attacks. Large secret stocks of arms, pamphlets and propaganda material have been discovered on Siebaldgasse in Cologne. Similar reports are available for other centers in the Rhineland and at Kolberg. The Communists in the north German ports say they have arms. Prisoners of war report at least three secret radio stations in Germany: (1) Sturm Adler, Sender der Deutschen Jugend; (2) Sender der Deutschen Arbeiter Jugend; (3) Sender der SA Freunde. 1/

There is no region in Germany that is not reported to be a source of disaffection as the above material indicates. Alsace, the Saar, the Rhineland and the Ruhr, Saxony and Prussia, Silesia, Bavaria and Wurttemburg. In the latter, a PW from Lorch reports strong anti-Nazi feeling in Catholic regions led by priests who cooperate with Social Democrats against Communism. Whole groups of towns and villages are solidly Social Democratic still, including Lorch, Reinsthal, Gmünd, whose mayor and head of the Arbeitsamt are wholly anti-Nazi, and as well Metzingen, Weissgulden, Mudlangen, Deinbach, and Henbach. The leader of the resistance of the Confessional Church, Dr. Wurm, comes likewise from Württemburg. Similar statements are made with respect to the Braunschweig-Goslar and Hannover-Münden areas. Individuals ready to cooperate with outsiders in underground matters are reported to live at Bad Ems, Bremen-Blumenthal, Ilmenau bei Langgath, Stettin and Berlin-Schöneberg.

2. Continuation of the Social Democratic and Socialist Underground.

1/ See above material on SA Freunde.

a. There have been meetings of Sudeten Social Democrats which were limited, however, to discussions of future plans.

b. Members of the Social Democratic Party founded in 1938, the Sozialistische Arbeiter Jugend.

c. A Demokratischer Schutzbund was founded in September, 1939, at Bremen by a young worker formerly active in the illegal Reichbanner at Bremen after he had been released from prison and the concentration camp. Its members were former members of the Social Democratic Party and young recruits from the Sozialistische Arbeiter Jugend. The organization attained a maximum of some ninety groups in and outside Bremen, composed of three or four individuals whose only contact was with each other. Contacts between the groups were maintained by the leader, and names and addresses were never written down. This strength was gradually reduced by call-up. The activities of the league are limited to propaganda of a general anti-Nazi and anti-war kind. The members talk in their places of employment, among their friends, in shopping queues and trams. Emphasis is placed also upon the proper education of children in the home in an anti-Nazi direction. The League is reported to have sent one of its members outside Germany to establish contacts with the British Intelligence and this member is supposedly responsible for much of the sabotage on German ships in occupied countries. Beyond current propaganda the League hopes to be able to assure that when once democracy is established in New Germany it will not be supplanted by another totalitarian government.

d. It has been reported (March, 1943) that former leaders of the Social Democratic party, including Franz Kuenstler,

former chairman of the Party in Berlin and Max Westphal, the leader of the Social Democratic Youth Movement, were rounded up and executed as possible leaders of revolt.

e. In Essen, on May 3, 1943, 63 workers who participated in an illegal meeting to celebrate the first of May were arrested and held for trial before the People's Court, and indicted for having arranged an illegal socialistic meeting. Eleven belonged to free trade unions before 1933.

f. An ISK (Internationale Sozialistische Kampfbund) report of October, 1942, referring to a connecting network with good groups in many of the important factories, and especially in the Rhineland and the Ruhr.

3. Continuations of the Communist Underground

a. Anti-Faschistische Aktion has not been liquidated.

b. The workers of Berlin have founded a Communist Youth International (Kommunistische Jugend Internationale).

c. A young Berlin machinist and trade unionist was asked by the Bezirksleiter of the Communist Party to transform a small discussion group of which he was a member into a unit of the Roter Front-Kampferbund. The request was refused because of the fear that the Communist party had been infiltrated by too many Nazi spies. The discussion group preferred to meet alone.

d. The arrest and sentence to death of fourteen persons at Mannheim (May 19, 1942) for trying to set up a Communist organization in Mannheim and circulating hectographed illegal newspapers; the

report that in October and November 1942 a great number of workers were imprisoned for "illegal Communist activities"; the report (April, 1943) that illegal Communist groups were becoming stronger and that their clandestine meetings were seldom discovered; the report from a worker that eighty out of one hundred and fifty workers in a Baltic port were Communist in sympathy and had some kind of secret organization. Indeed, there seems to be some evidence for the growing strength of German Communism among German workers. One report goes so far as to estimate its adult sympathizers at about ten million. The only evidence, outside of Communist emigre circles abroad, of a common front between Social Democrats and Communists with other oppositional groups is the reported Rhineland Underground Conference of December, 1942, when a group, similar to that of the present Free Germany Committee in Moscow, composed of Communists, Social Democrats, a Catholic priest, an officer of the Wehrmacht, and representatives of a nationalist underground are supposed to have met to draft a Manifesto whose outline is the same as that of the Moscow Free Germany Committee.

4. Continuation of the Trade Union Underground.

a. The secret meeting of German trade union leaders is reported for April 13, 1942, which approved an appeal to the German workers. From Swedish Trade Union Circles is reported a secret meeting of German trade union representatives in Berlin on April 30th of this year, the first convention of this kind since the outbreak of the war.

b. A report (June, 1942) of an excellently build-up underground trade movement in the large plants, especially among the metal workers. The underground representatives are said to be directed by an

Executive Committee for the whole factory, consisting of former shop stewards and trade union functionaries who collect dues and subscription funds. The activities of the group are limited to internal factory struggles.

c. The International Federation of Transport Workers (IFTU) has undoubtedly maintained connection with the illegal underground of German railroad workers and seamen. The organization of railroad workers formed by Hans Jahn (see above) is indeed recorded as the best possible means for contacting the German underground movement. 170 out of the original 280 members of his organization are still active in various areas, have been trained in underground work and understand the methods of clandestine underground activity. There are all older workers, out of the army, and probably still on their jobs. Their organization stretches throughout Germany with heavy concentrations in the Ruhr, Frankfurt, Leipzig, Munich, Dresden and Berlin. There are men along the French and Luxemburg borders, one on the Swiss border, another at Stettin. After Hans Jahn went to London (1940) he had some contact with this group. Through channels of the I.T.F. certain sabotage instruments were introduced into Germany for their use, and it is reported that they have wrecked trains in the Brenner Pass and brought sabotage materials to Russian guerrillas. The I.T.F. has distributed to German railwaymen as early as 1941 after the attack on Russia, handbills addressed to "Transportarbeiter, Seeleute, Eisenbahner!" Among its contents were the following injunctions: "Übt passive Resistenz, arbeitet nur nach Vorschrift. Je langsamer Ihr fahrt, umso eher kommt Ihr

ens ziel, Sabotiert den Betrieb mit allen geeigneten Mitteln, Zeigt, dass Ihr zu kämpfen versteht." The Joint Council of the International Federation of Transport Workers, Miners and Metal Workers broadcasts regularly from London to the workers in Germany and occupied countries. On April 3, 1943, J. H. Oldenbroek, the successor to the late Edo Fimmen as Secretary of the IFTU, promised in the name of the combined membership of the more then five million workers of the three internationals spread over thirty-six different countries before the war, that "we pledge every possible moral and financial support to those who form underground trade union groups in the occupied and axis countries alike."

The period since the war is then marked by an increase in the strength of the underground which remains essentially labor. What remains of the Social Democratic underground is not any too clear. At least its youth movement was envigorated by Sozialistische Arbeiter Jugend and signs of considerable activity are clear in the Demokratischer Schutzbund. Much stronger than the Socialist underground would appear to be the Communist. Anti-Faschistische Aktion is still alive. The youth movement is apparently strengthened by a new Kommunistische Jugend Internationale at Berlin. One hears as well of the Roter Front Kämpferbund, and of a definite party organization with Bezirksleiter. In addition to party organizations per se there has evidently been some effort on the part of the Communists to bring together all oppositional groups in Germany into a common front (The Rhineland Conference--Dec. 1942). There is no

reason to believe that the trade union undergrounds have not participated in this revival. But the striking conclusion to be drawn from the evidence is the expansion of the underground into other than labor circles. A conservative, national, anti-Nazi and anti-Communist group seeking to combat common front Communist activities has joined together groups from the army, industry, agriculture, the civil service (diplomats) and even some of the Gestapo. Conservatism in student circles has taken underground form in the Kampfbund Studentischer Jugend. The desire for peace attracts all groups in Deutsche Friedens Bewegung, and a continuation of Catholic opposition can be seen in the National Catholic German Peace Movement.[1/] Women have engaged in minor subversive activity, and the underground has finally reached disaffected groups within the Party in S.A. Freunde which incorporates intellectuals (engineers and economists) as well as old party members.

At the same time that the underground has revived and expanded it has also enlarged its activities, While the fight for existence continues, and it maintains its reportorial functions, it can dare to engage in bolder forms of action. It can lead the struggle of the worker within the framework of German labor controls, organize strikes, and cooperate in escape. It can organize mass protests in the form of processions and demonstrations. It can hold conferences of its leaders, and representative conferences of its members. It can go beyond anti-Nazi

1/ For some evidence on the opposition of religious groups since the war, see the special report of the Central European Section on The Christian Opposition in Germany.

talk in home, factory and in public groups and publicize slogans of its own; it can prepare, publish and distribute stickers and pamphlets. It can even engage in acts of terrorism and sabotage and conduct clandestine radio stations. Thus it aids in the building up of a secret public opinion. Moreover, it can occasionally dare to plan for a more distant future.

It is well however not to exaggerate. This is not to say that the destruction of the regime by any underground is immediately at hand, or that a social revolution impends. It is not possible to speak of any national or mass underground, or for that matter of any organized regional one except it be, perhaps, in Austria. The individual undergrounds are still atomized into small groups within the city, the town and the factory. But there are at least signs of a change. Conservative and Communist circles are aiming to consolidate larger groups of the opposition to the Nazis. And it is interesting that the S.A. Freunde in Berlin sought to cooperate with conservative and Communist students and with other organizations seeking a larger common front (anti-Faschistische Aktion and Deutsche Friedens Bewegung). Moreover the evidence hints at cooperation among various groups (1) French-Alsatians-Germans, (2) middle classes and clergy, (3) Catholic clergy and Socialists (vs Communism), (4) Protestants (clergy and laity) and Socialists in plans for the future, (5) men and women workers, and finally (6) German and foreign workers. This means much for the potential of the underground.

It remains to be said that within a totalitarian state the strength of an underground movement does not depend upon numbers. Totalitarianism and a wide-spread underground are a contradiction in terms. Its strength depends at the moment upon the intelligence and character of those few who have survived, and upon their plans for activizing the great amount of disaffection present in all classes of German society, a disaffection which is growing enormously as the German people begin to realize the impasse into which they have been led. Deprived for the most part of the support which, before the war, came to these undergrounds from exile parent organizations, it remains for the United Nations to find means to substitute for these, and make efforts to cooperate with the German leaders in a coordination and further activisation of the underground that is left. That amounts in the main to the promotion of the labor underground. After all the opposition in military, industrialist, Junker, and bureaucratic circles relies in the last analysis upon the coup d'etat rather than the powerful underground for the seizure of power. The opposition in religious and lower middle class circles may, with important exceptions, be assumed to have not gone much further than the private discussion group. The peasant, though restive and often hostile, is hard to budge. There remain the workers. They however are caught between their devotion to the class and the national struggle, and their resistance is therefore partial rather than total. They are, moreover, obsessed by the fear of what the consequences of defeat and the destruction of the regime will bring for them. This

fear can be attacked only by an intelligent political warfare, which by offering some alternative to the chaos, civil war or even national annihilation which, in case of defeat, many expect, may hope to transform a partial into a total resistance. Even as it is the record is a tribute to human endurance and courage, and the revelation of a great hope. Faced with the sharpened instruments of Terror, the underground needs, in addition to its own growing strength, a guidance and a support which offer some reward to the endurance and the courage, and give some substance to the hope.